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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 16 June 1993, at 7 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. MOLNÁR
	Japan	Mr. MARUYAMA
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. VAN BOHEMEN
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. PLUMBLY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 7.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION CONCERNING HAITI

LETTER DATED 7 JUNE 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF HAITI TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25958)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Bahamas, Canada and Haiti in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Moultrie (Bahamas) and Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

(The President)

Members of the Council have before them document S/25958, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 June 1993, from the Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25957, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/25942, which contains the text of a letter dated 14 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Canada. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. FRECHETTE (Canada): Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to extend to you the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency for the month of June. I am sure that you will exercise these important responsibilities with great distinction. I should also like to congratulate and thank the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation, whose tenure in the Chair of the Council last month is unanimously agreed to have been of exceptional quality.

Canada has asked to speak during this debate to express its strong support for the draft resolution the Council is preparing to adopt.

(spoke in French)

The forcible overthrow of the democratically elected Government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has been universally condemned by the international community. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 11 October 1991, and those which followed, demand the restoration of constitutional order in Haiti and the return of President Aristide.

The return of democracy to Haiti has been a priority of the Government of Canada since the crisis began more than 18 months ago. We believe that the draft resolution before the Council is a critical step towards achieving our common objective.

From the outset, it has seemed clear to us that only a firm and unequivocal response from the international community would produce the conditions necessary for the return of democracy to Haiti. Canada supported unreservedly the initiative taken by the Organization of American States (OAS) not only to condemn the interruption of the democratic process but also to implement concrete measures designed to restore that process.

The OAS has demonstrated patience and resolve, and has not been deflected from its objective when confronted with the intransigence of the illegal

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

regime. However, it must be recognized that there are limits to the tools available to the OAS. The OAS embargo on trade with Haiti is not binding on countries which are not members of that organization, thus reducing its impact and thereby allowing the illegal regime in Port-au-Prince to cling to power. Acknowledging this reality, the OAS found it necessary to seek the support of the United Nations.

Canada strongly supports the efforts of the past six months of His Excellency Mr. Dante Caputo, Special Envoy of the OAS and the United Nations, to reach a negotiated settlement. We salute the courage, patience and skill with which he has carried out his mandate. However, the negotiating process Mr. Caputo has undertaken was rejected by the de facto authorities and the military command in Haiti when they refused to endorse key elements of his proposed framework for a settlement.

We share a responsibility to create the conditions necessary to the success of Mr. Caputo's mission of mediation on behalf of the United Nations and the OAS. By supporting the limited sanctions in the draft resolution, the purpose of which is to advance the negotiating process, we will send a clear message.

Repression prevails in Haiti. Fundamental human rights are systematically violated. The situation is one of instability, where political choice is exercised only in the dangerous act of seeking refuge elsewhere. We should remember that virtually no Haitians took to the seas after President Aristide's election, whereas an estimated 40,000 fled the country after the coup d'état.

The situation in Haiti is a threat to peace and security in the region; and Haiti's neighbours are daily subjected to the consequences.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

For these reasons, the Canadian Government considers it legitimate and necessary that the Council respond positively to the call by President Aristide, the only legitimate authority of the Haitian nation, and impose an embargo on the delivery of oil supplies in order to bring about a speedy conclusion to this tragic and volatile situation. There is no other way to bring about the end of the illegal regime. It is only by demonstrating the resolve of the entire international community that those who hold power in Haiti will understand that there is no other path than the negotiated solution that is being offered.

The principal elements of this draft resolution - an embargo on the delivery of petroleum and petroleum products, arms and munitions, and the freezing of the assets of the Haitian State - are already covered by the embargo earlier decreed by the OAS. As such, Canada has been implementing them for some time, and we look forward to receiving the determined support of the entire international community.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words she addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/25957) to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 841 (1993).

Members of the Council have asked me to say that the adoption of this resolution is warranted by the unique and exceptional situation in Haiti and should not be regarded as constituting a precedent.

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): Since the coup d'état that prompted President Aristide, who was legitimately elected, to leave his country, France has been following with special attention the tragic political events that have occurred in Haiti.

In the hope that the de facto authorities might accept a return to legality, France also gave unswerving support to the efforts made by the Special Representative of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) to find an honourable solution enabling Haiti to return fully to the international community.

We must note here that the reasonable proposals put forward by Mr. Caputo to resolve the crisis in Haiti have not been heeded by the de facto government, which for 20 months has opposed any serious settlement of the question of Haiti.

It is this situation of total blockage that is before the Security Council for consideration. My delegation hopes that the adoption of sanctions against Haiti will soon make it possible to bring the perpetrators of the coup d'état to the negotiating table in order to restore constitutional order in Haiti. We also hope that it will not be necessary for the Council to tighten these measures if, once again, no tangible result emerges from the

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

talks that the Representative of the Secretaries-General wishes to continue to conduct with the parties.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): On 3 October 1991, the Security Council, in this Chamber, received the President of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, whose constitutional Government had just been overthrown by a military coup d'état. President Aristide at that time was in danger of losing his life. In spite of the circumstances, no one will ever forget his statement in the Council. Venezuela's delegation was sitting at the side of the Security Council. It was a speech with a tone and a purpose which showed determination to restore peace by peaceful means. I would recall here some of the aspects of that speech:

> "It is that people which, using non-violent means to protest that dictatorship, is standing and awaiting the support of the international community - your support - so that together we can show our will to live in democracy and for democracy and against dictatorship.
>
> "It is the selfsame people that expects the Council's support in the protection of human rights. (...)
>
> "Were we isolated and alone in our country, it would have been very difficult for us, the Haitian people, to face this tragic situation, in which arms and military boots are always ready to crush a people that wish to stake their lives and work peacefully for the reign of democracy."

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

President Aristide then said:

"I shall simply say that with the Council standing with us, we are firmly convinced that once again the Latin American continent, the Antilles, the Caribbean and the rest of the world will say 'yes' to democracy and 'no' to military dictatorship, 'yes' to solidarity and 'no' to isolation.

"The Council knows the history of our country, and we are ready to keep that history going - a history that is replete with struggles for peace, for justice, for solidarity with the international community."

President Aristide went on to say:

"As I speak to the Council, I see peace-loving people I have known go before my mind's eye, and I know that they have died. I am wondering how many more will be massacred if once and for all an end is not put - within the norm - to this attempt to murder democracy."

(S/PV.3011, pp. 7-8)

Throughout the 20 difficult months that have passed since President Aristide made that speech, he has never abandoned his commitment to peace. He has constantly cooperated with all the efforts and initiatives of both the Organization of American States (OAS) and our Organization. This position has encouraged the Secretary-General's group of friendly countries - Canada, the United States and France - as well as my own country to continue to support the process to restore democracy, stability and peace in Haiti.

The Haitian tragedy is a potential threat to regional and international peace and security. One need only imagine what a substantial increase of hundreds of thousands of Haitians, in terrified flight to other countries, would mean. This tragedy is not confined within the borders of Haiti. It has

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

already extended dangerously beyond them. The situation in Haiti is undoubtedly a threat to peace and security, particularly in the Caribbean basin, an area to which my country belongs. It is not a question of interference in Haiti's internal affairs. The legitimate and constitutional Government of Haiti - the Government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide - has asked us to act today in the Security Council.

When my country was fighting for its independence in the early nineteenth century, our liberator Simon Bolivar found support for his actions to win independence for Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia only in the small island of Haiti, where he was generously greeted by President Alexandre Petion, who felt and measured perfectly the need for solidarity if the South American nations were to win their freedom. We recognize this debt of ours to Haiti as unpayable, but it is also unforgettable and we will never abandon it.

There is no reason that Haiti - the first country of our continent, after the United States, to find independence and freedom, and the first in the world to abolish slavery - should today find its leaders in exile and its people forced to flee violations of human rights committed by usurpers who do not recognize the most fundamental human rights. In Haiti, the United Nations believed that, in order to make democracy viable, it was enough to establish an electoral process. Of course, I do not wish to play down the importance of that process, but I would like to emphasize that the international community seemed to exhaust its concern for the people of Haiti after taking what was only the initial step in a long process of democratization and freedom. The United Nations opened a new prospect and a new dimension in the life of the people with the elections in Haiti, but our efforts must not flag until the

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

lawful authorities of that country - which has experienced so many violations of human rights and, I venture to say, such discrimination on the part of the international community - are restored to power and are accorded the same consideration and support which the United Nations has shown in other extreme cases elsewhere in the world.

The human rights situation in Haiti has worsened considerably. People have disappeared and been killed. There has been preventive repression, persecution, arbitrary detention and torture. The Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and other intergovernmental bodies have received innumerable complaints faithfully documenting these activities. This terrifying reality, existing in our hemisphere only three hours from New York and Washington, D.C., is being suffered by Haitians who only appeal for the right to live in freedom and democracy.

The measures taken in accordance with the resolution of the OAS, imposing the oil and weapons embargo, are not enough. The provisions of the embargo have not been respected because they are not binding. The action on which the Security Council has decided today is unquestionably a sign of the cooperation between the United Nations and a regional organization, in this case the Organization of American States. It is also the first time that the Security Council has adopted a resolution implementing Chapter VII in connection with a country in the American hemisphere.

It might be appropriate here to recall that the OAS has attempted, since the beginning of the crisis in Haiti, to apply measures aimed at bringing about a negotiated settlement. There is no initiative, no mission, no meeting, no declaration that has not been undertaken within the framework of

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

the OAS. Thus, all that remained was recourse to the Security Council, which we petition today to strengthen the OAS resolution, adopted on 6 June 1993 in Managua, which emphasizes the need for all States members of the OAS and the United Nations alike to strengthen the embargo. It is obvious that the only way to strengthen the embargo is to make it binding and universal. But that requires action on the part of the Security Council. In this respect, I should like to emphasize that we are not pursuing the embargo as an end in itself, but as a means to give the Special Envoy of the Secretaries-General of both organizations an additional deterrent so that negotiations will continue and will achieve the goal we all seek.

On this occasion, my delegation would like to express especial appreciation for the efforts and dedication of the Secretary-General and in particular for those of the Special Envoy, Mr. Dante Caputo of Argentina, who has demonstrated conspicuous dedication in this process.

Finally, I should like to note that the delegations of Brazil and Venezuela have consulted their regional group and CARICOM, taking into particular account their observations, which have served to broaden our position and make the resolution we have adopted today more representative. It undoubtedly represents a historic attempt to restore democracy, to which Latin America and the Caribbean are committed.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): My delegation voted in favour of resolution 841 (1993) in the belief that the mandatory measures contained in that resolution are in conformity with the recommendations made by the Organization of American States (OAS) and that these extraordinary measures by the Security Council are necessitated by the threat to international peace and security emanating from the continuation of the existing situation in Haiti.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

We accept the view that the Council's action has been taken under exceptional circumstances in this particular case. My delegation's vote on this resolution is therefore without prejudice to the position which we may take on future resolution of the Council in a similar situation.

My delegation strongly supports the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, their Special Envoy and those of the international community to reach a political solution to the crisis in Haiti. It is our earnest expectation that these efforts will culminate in a comprehensive and peaceful settlement in Haiti in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and international law before the stipulated deadlines, thus obviating the need to impose sanctions.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The critical situation in Haiti, a member of the Latin American and Caribbean family of nations, has increasingly become a source of serious concern to Brazil.

Almost three years ago the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) sponsored a successful electoral process, which resulted in the election of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the inauguration of Haiti's legitimate Government, freely and democratically elected.

Like other members of the international community, Brazil welcomed that achievement, which promised to open a new era in Haiti's history, an era of economic development and social justice on the basis of democratic participation. It was therefore a deep disappointment to us when in September 1991 that democratic process was suddenly and violently interrupted by a coup d'état. Those deplorable events triggered a strong reaction by the international community - first and foremost by the Organization of American States.

In fact, the OAS responded to the Haitian crisis almost immediately, deciding to take important measures to ensure the restoration of democracy and of the legitimate Government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti. A series of resolutions adopted by the OAS was supplemented by the strenuous efforts made since the beginning of the crisis by the Secretary-General of the OAS, Mr. João Clemente Baena Soares. Efforts at the regional level subsequently received the invaluable support of the United Nations General Assembly and the equally invaluable participation of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Most recently the designation of Mr. Dante Caputo as the Special Envoy of the Secretaries-General of both Organizations added an important contribution to this process. His skilful work is proving

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

to be an asset in our endeavour to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis in Haiti.

In spite of all of the efforts already made, a solution to the crisis has not yet been achieved. The de facto authorities have repeatedly failed to accept the fundamental need for a settlement that reinstates the legitimate Government of Haiti. The resolution adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States on 6 June in Managua stressed the need for its member States and the Members of the United Nations to reinforce the measures adopted to encourage the de facto authorities to accept a prompt solution to the situation within full respect for legitimacy and democracy.

The resolution just adopted makes it clear that the situation in Haiti is unique and exceptional. That uniqueness and that exceptional character are defined by a conjunction of different factors - in particular, the request by the legitimate Government of Haiti that the Security Council make universal and mandatory the measures recommended by the OAS. Another crucial factor that characterizes the uniqueness of the Haitian crisis is the fact that action has already been taken in that same direction by the OAS and by the General Assembly. That prior action provides a framework which warrants the extraordinary consideration of the matter by the Security Council and the equally extraordinary application of measures provided for in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Throughout the consultations the Brazilian delegation worked closely with the co-sponsors of the draft resolution to support the adoption of the strong measures that are required and to make sure that the resolution reflected the specificity of that exceptional framework to which I have referred.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

It was, furthermore, important that the resolution be an element in reinforcing the joint cooperative efforts made by the OAS and the United Nations in dealing with this most urgent question.

We are thankful to the co-sponsors for having displayed, during all the consultations, a spirit that is the best reflection of the multilateral approach to international relations and that made it possible to achieve a resolution that is strong in its content and does not disregard the important legal and political issues related to the measures adopted.

Twenty months ago the joy and civic spirit with which the Haitian people embarked upon the democratic process that culminated with the election of President Aristide were cut short in an untimely way by force of arms. Now that all Member States of the United Nations are called upon to be party to the efforts aimed at reversing that situation, it is the hope of the Brazilian Government that those efforts will finally bear fruit so that Haiti may recover its legitimate Government and therefore be fully reincorporated into the international community.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 841 (1993) in the hope that it will not have to be applied and that we shall receive notice that the democratic and peaceful solution has been arrived at, a solution which the people of Haiti has been expecting for too long.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): The Council has just acted decisively to underline the international community's demand for a return to democratic legitimacy in Haiti. In taking the extremely serious step of imposing mandatory sanctions, we are sending a clear and resounding message.

It is time for the Haitian parties to engage in honest and serious negotiations.

(Ms. Albright, United States)

It is time for the Haitian parties to put their country's interests first and take responsibility for a lasting settlement of this crisis.

It is time to end the suffering of the Haitian people.

It is time for President Aristide and democracy to be returned to this long-suffering land.

We know that sanctions alone are not a solution to the Haitian tragedy. Rather, the tough sanctions adopted today represent a further step by the international community to put pressure on those who stand in the way of a solution. In the final analysis, however, the international community cannot solve the Haitian crisis. Only the Haitians themselves can do that.

The negotiating process led by Dante Caputo, the Special Envoy of the United Nations and Organization of American States Secretaries-General, presents a historic opportunity for the Haitian parties to provide for a secure and democratic future.

We call on all sides to seize this opportunity now.

We call on all sides to negotiate seriously for a settlement, and make the difficult decisions leadership requires.

We call on all sides to take responsibility now for ending this tragedy.

Haiti stands at an important crossroads. The international community, with this action today, is signalling its commitment to bring a resolution to the suffering in Haiti. Haitians in leadership positions now must do their part. We look to them to demonstrate the patriotism and statesmanship their country requires.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned over the current situation in Haiti. The Secretary-General and his Special Envoy as well as the Organization of American States have all made tireless efforts for a political solution to

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

the Haitian crisis. We hope that such efforts will facilitate a settlement of the Haitian question, thus contributing to peace and stability in the region.

The crisis in Haiti is essentially a matter which falls within the internal affairs of that country, and therefore should be dealt with by the Haitian people themselves. Meanwhile, it has come to our attention that the Haitian crisis has acquired a new dimension with the latest developments. Under these circumstances, the Permanent Representative of Haiti, acting within the context of the related actions previously taken by the Organization of American States and by the General Assembly of the United Nations, has requested the Security Council to take urgent measures to redress the crisis in Haiti, and his letter has been circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

As the developments in Haiti have already brought, or will bring, adverse effects on them, the Organization of American States and countries from Latin America and the Caribbean have made similar requests to the Security Council to support the efforts made by the regional Organization. The resolution has also made it very clear that the Council, in dealing with the Haitian crisis, will fully heed and respect the views of the relevant regional Organization and countries in the region, and that any action by the Council should be complementary to, and supportive of, the actions by the relevant regional Organization.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

The main purpose of the resolution is an early political solution to the crisis in Haiti. We have noted, in particular, the statement by the President of the Council to the effect that the adoption of this resolution and the measures envisaged therein are warranted only as a result of the unique and exceptional situation in Haiti, and therefore should not be regarded as constituting any precedent for the future. It is on the basis of these considerations that the Chinese delegation has voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The Chinese delegation, as its consistent position, does not favour the Security Council's handling matters which are essentially internal affairs of a Member State, nor does it approve of resorting lightly to such mandatory measures as sanctions by the Council. We wish to point out that the favourable vote the Chinese delegation cast just now does not mean any change in that position.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.